# UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

John Haynes Holmes, *Editor in Chief*

*Associate Editors*

Francis Neilson | Louis L. Mann | Curtis W. Reese

## Hoover, Smith and the International Mind

*By* EDWIN D. MEAD

## The Signing of the Kellogg-Briand Treaty

*By* CHESTER C. PLATT

## The Art of Rainmaking

*By* DAVID STARR JORDAN

## Book Reviews

*By* JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

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UNITY

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John Haynes Holmes — Francis Neilson
Curtis W. Reese — Louis L. Mann

UNITY is a weekly paper, sixteen pages, containing timely editorial comment, special articles, foreign correspondence by its own representatives in Europe and Asia, book reviews, and regular reports of news from the field of liberal thought and action.

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# UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME CII MONDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1928 NUMBER 3

## SET MOONEY FREE

*"While there is a soul in jail, I am not free."*

*—Eugene V. Debs.*

**He fought for elemental right**
**Of men to friendly earth and light;**
**He fought the battle of the weak,**
**Of tired men afraid to speak,**
**Afraid to storm the citadel**
**Of those who turn their world to hell.**

**Now he who risked his life for all**
**Stifles behind a prison wall,**
**Condemned by lie and perjury**
**Of prostitute and pharisee.**
**Now in dull agony he waits**
**Beside the never-turning gates.**

***Comrades, this task for you and me:***
***Set Mooney free! Set Mooney free!***

LUCIA TRENT.

It is a healthy thing for the American people to be reminded that Mooney and Billings are still in jail. We hope that some day, some *early* day, this reminder will stir the people to an outcry which will release these martyred victims of injustice. For twelve years, now, Mooney and Billings have been behind the bars in punishment for a crime which it is all but universally conceded they did not commit. If ever a trial was discredited and a verdict overthrown, it was *this* trial and *this* verdict. Thus, the conviction has been repudiated by the judge who sat upon the bench, and saw every witness and heard every syllable of the testimony. The judge has been joined in this sensational repudiation by the jurors, by the detective sergeant who procured the state's witnesses, by the Attorney-General, and by the successor to the district attorney who conducted the prosecution. Yet still these helpless men, railroaded to jail in an hour of public hysteria and madness, languish behind the bars of the dread San Quentin Prison! Is it possible that California is deliberately murdering these men by slow torture, as Massachusetts deliberately murdered Sacco and Vanzetti by swift annihiliation? We cannot so believe! It is not credible, nor could it be borne, that there should be two Massachusetts in this Republic. No! We join the *Nation* in believing that "these prisoners are still wasting away their lives in jail (because) no national organization is any longer fighting for their release." Mooney and Billings, in other words, like the Centralia victims, have been forgotten. The average person, if he recalled their names at all, would probably declare that these two men have long since been released. But not so! They are there today within their prison cells, just as they have been there ever since the bomb explosion with which they had nothing to do, and just as they will be there until death releases them, unless the American public rises up and demands that justice at last be done.

---

It is amusing to note how feverishly the friends of "Al" Smith are discovering that the churches should keep out of politics. For years, now, the churches have been thwacked hip and thigh for their indifference to social questions. They have been indicted, berated, denounced for their interest in heaven and their forgetfulness of earth. If the churches are ever to justify themselves, we have been told, they must plunge into the work of social betterment and thus help make this world a decent world. And now, when a first-class issue of public decency is before the nation in the candidacy of a man who would use the high powers of the presidency to bring the liquor business back to life, we are excitedly informed that the churches must keep their hands off. The church has, or should have, nothing to do with politics! All of which is just so much "bunk" now in process of manufacture by the Democrats for campaign purposes! The church belongs in politics, cannot with self-respect stay out of politics, whenever a clear-cut moral issue is to the fore. Slavery was such an issue three generations ago, and we all agree that those churches and ministers were engaged in God's business who entered the political field on the side of abolition. War is such an issue today, and it is to the glory of the churches that they see it, and use every legitimate political means to outlaw war, destroy armaments, and establish agencies of peace. Prohibition is another such moral issue. The liquor traffic, now fighting savagely for its life, is the friend of every evil and the foe of every good in human society. And "Al" Smith is its anointed champion! If the presidential candidacy of such a man is not a moral issue, then there are no moral issues. We believe the challenge to the churches is immediate. We agree with *Zion's Herald*, "We must get into politics, every Christian of us, when

the issue is so clearly a moral one as it is in the present campaign."

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There are two kinds of corruption that are menacing to this country. The one is the crass, crude kind that was disclosed in the oil investigations. This is plain thievery, like the stealing of a wallet or the robbing of a till. A rich man goes to Washington with his kit of burglar's tools (in a little black bag, for example!). breaks into government offices, and walks off with the people's property. This kind of jobbery runs all the way from the vulgar boodling of Tammany Hall in New York to the high-class, country-club style of "breaking and entering" at the capital. There is a law against this sort of thing, but it is seldom enforced. The second kind of corruption which is menacing this nation is the subtle, clever process of indirection which eats away the foundations of the state as the more primitive type, above noted, batters down the walls. We have an example of this second kind in the propaganda work of the public utility corporations as revealed in the investigation of the Federal Trade Commission, already referred to in these columns by Mr. Mussey (see UNITY, June 25), and to be referred to many times again. These corporations have undertaken systematically to poison public opinion in this country against government ownership, and thus to rob the people of properties of incalculable value. They do not bribe men, as Doheny bribed Secretary Fall; they just place costly advertising in newspapers ($28,000,000 to $38,000,000 in New York State alone!), hire college professors and other speakers to address audiences (as though freely, on the basis of their own convictions), prepare and publish text-books which are offered *gratis* to school boards and put into public schools with no indication as to source (106,000 copies in 491 New York high schools), print and circulate pamphlets (200,000 copies of a pamphlet attacking Gov. Smith's water power policy, distributed in New York)—all to pervert public opinon in favor of private as against public ownership. There is no law against this sort of thing. Yet it corrupts the state!

---

The adherence of Russia to Briand-Kellogg Treaty renouncing "war as a national policy" is an event of significance almost as momentous as the Treaty itself. It is momentous for the Treaty, for without the signature of the Soviet government, the pact would have constituted a fatally weak bond of peace. From the beginning all efforts after peace in post-war Europe have been vitiated by the fact that Russia was excluded from the council of the nations. The League, for example!—it is impossible to regard this as a peace organization so long as the Soviets are outside. It is at the best but a restoration of the balance of power, with the signatories to the Covenant on the one side and Russia and her allies upon the other. The adherence of Russia to the Briand-Kellogg Treaty gives it at once a reality which the League has never had. But this adherence has significance not only for the Treaty, but also for Russia. Now at last the Bolshevik Republic is admitted into the international life from which she has been so long shut out. A pariah ever since the revolution of 1918, she is now a member of the family, and will so remain from this time on. For the acceptance of her signature to the pact means recognition—recognition by all the nations who receive her as an equal partner in this endeavor to outlaw war. Already it is stated from official sources that ratification of Mr. Kellogg's Treaty by the Senate will constitute recognition of Russia by the United States. Whether this be so, in the technical sense of diplomatic relations, is doubtful. But such a technical detail is unimportant. By reason of her signature upon the Paris pact, Soviet Russia henceforth *exists* for America and all other nations, and business must be done with her. Such status marks a new era for the Bolshevists, and a new promise of world peace.

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More and more as the scientists get together each year and tell us what they have discovered—as at the recent meetings of the British Association at Glasgow—we find a weariness creeping over us, that these savants know so much. The range of modern knowledge is getting to be so vast, its bulk so enormous, that it tires us just to think of it. We feel a kind of paralysis taking possession of our gray matter, and find ourselves yearning feebly for the good old compact days when the universe could be tied up in a little parcel and carried comfortably around. The scientists today know too much—they are going too far and penetrating too deep. Knowledge such as men possess today is a weariness to the flesh and spirit. So it seems! But hold, let us look a little more carefully. These scientists tell us wonderful things—the proceedings at Glasgow were breath-taking! But do these men really *know* so much, after all? More details than Aristotle knew, undoubtedly! And more height and width and depth! The cosmos is infinitely bigger, and infinitely more complicated, than the old Greek ever dreamed. But have we learned anything since Aristotle as to what the cosmos *is* and what it *means?* Has life revealed its mystery to any watching eye? Is there a mind anywhere that can interpret a heart-beat or explain a brain-cell? What do we know that is really central, or fundamental? Marvelous as is the range and power of modern investigation, have we progressed so much as the millionth fraction of an inch toward the reality of being? Contemporary knowledge is stupendous, but it remains mystery still. These scientists know little enough, as they themselves are the first to admit. So why get weary? The world is much the same as it has always been.

Along the country roads there grow
Willow-trees and Texaco,
Mobiloils and marigold
And other fruits of men and mould.
Oh, how my town-tried heart desires
To know the peace of Kelly Tires,
To hear the robin in the grass
Sing, "Socony," as I pass!

Thus Samuel Hofferstein in his recent widely read volume of satirical verses, "Poems In Praise of Practically Nothing!" This brings to mind, especially at this season of the year, the hoary question as to what we are going to do in the matter of the advertising bill-boards that deface the countryside. It seems as though we had heard this question agitated ever since we were a babe in arms. Yet the bill-boards still flourish like daisies and buttercups in New England pastures. We hear encouraging reports every now and then of great advertising concerns which are yielding to the clamor of public opinion and retiring from the field of bill-board display in the open country. But a recent automobile trip seemed to discover more bill-boards to the linear mile than ever before. One thing is noticeable — namely, the entrance of the local advertiser into this field. Everywhere today are large display signs announcing the nearest hotel, or a restaurant two miles distant, or a dog-farm 'round the next bend in the road. As national advertisers are retiring, in other words, local advertisers are springing up to take their place. Which means that, after all these years of protest and appeal, the situation is somewhat worse than ever before! What with bill-boards, filling-stations, eating houses, and camps for the night, the automobile has ruined the countryside. The irony of the situation —that the automobile has enabled city-bound people to escape into the country, only to find no country that is worth seeing!

## Jottings

UNITY, according to the latest report in the 1928 Year Book of Abraham Lincoln Centre,

finds its way into every state in the Union with the exception of Alaska, and carries its weekly message to twenty-nine foreign countries, including Indo-China and the island of Cyprus.

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Mussolini is banning newspapers from Italy. Among those shut out from this fragile country are the *Daily Herald* (London), *Humanité* (Paris), and the Manchester *Guardian*. The last would seem to cap the climax of absurdity.

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We cannot, for the life of us, see why pacifists should endorse the plank in the Republican platform calling for the drafting of property as well as life by the government in time of war. The fact that this plank was urged by the American Legion ought to be enough to condemn it. But beyond this is the basic fact that conscription is the apotheosis of force as it is the death of liberty, and can have no place, therefore, in any pacifist program.

The Chicago *Tribune*, in its opposition to Outlawry, is about as wrong as it can be. But in one thing it is right—when it says that the Kellogg Treaty "gives every pacifist in the country an argument which Congress, even if it wants to answer, will have hard work doing so." This is terrible English, but it's true. You've said a mouthful, brother!

---

"Al" Smith says that Tammany Hall must be "all right"—it has survived so long! This reminds us of the medieval Jew who journeyed to Rome and came back declaring that the Church must be divine. Only a divine institution, he said, could survive the hideous corruptions that he had everywhere seen.

---

New Yorkers have thought that the numerous one-room apartments now being built in their crowded city represented the "limit" of contracted living quarters. But Seattle has gone one step further. A woman in that city has set up house-keeping in an elevator!

J. H. H.

---

### From a Hospital

The city noises make a roar,
A grinding roar that stirs our pain;
No choir of workers, but a war
Of traffic tones, a misanthropic strain.

The thunder-rolling drays go by—
The jangling cars—the screeching horn—
The "L's" commotion—gamin's cry—
A plague upon our nerves!—we're overborne!

Listen! was that a spirit-flute—
A trill—a thread of melody?
Now smothered out and vanished—mute—
Yet once again it comes assuredly.

From out the loud discordant swirl
A small caged bird is piping sweet,
Loosing his cadence twirl on twirl;
He sings a blue sky far above the street.

What promise in his wingèd song!
Skilled hands shall give us liberty,
Blue sky above us in the throng,
Our part again in labor's company.

Though hands of skill in healing fail,
It is no menace. Pain shall cease
If far within this crashing gale
Of sound we hear the sky-blue voice of peace.

ANN BULLARD

## Travel Letters

### IV. The Signing of the Kellogg-Briand Treaty

Paris, August 27th.—Simplicity, good taste, and an entire absence of soldiers or any military insignia marked the formalities of the signing of the Kellogg Peace Pact today at the French Foreign Office.

Armed with a copy of UNITY in one pocket, containing Mr. Holmes' inspiring editorial on making August 27th an international holiday, and a card in another pocket, which clearly and unmistakably pointed me out as a duly accredited Foreign correspondent of UNITY, with all the rights and privileges thereunto appertaining, I started out early in the afternoon for the Quay D'Orsay, where gathered representatives of fifteen nations, to register a solemn pledge never to go to war again, the most important human document, I take it, in the history of mankind.

Leaving our hotel I explained to the taxi-cab driver where I wanted to go. He asked me several questions, and not understanding French very well, I civilly answered, "Oui, oui."

An air of importance emanating I think from the contents of my pocket, together with my affirmative answers caused our taxi driver, when he came to the police line, to explain to a big gendarme something or other about us (I can't tell what) but anyway the officer graciously waved us forward, we entered the sacred enclosed courtyard, and our taxi-cab drew up to one side of the entrance right in line with some diplomats, who were making early arrivals.

The steps of the building were filled on each side with cameras and moving picture machines, together with their operators. The machines were being ground, and the cameras clicked as we got out of our car. We felt quite "chesty," although a bit embarrassed. Instead of entering the building, perhaps only to encounter a bouncer, we took a position at one side of the entrance steps, where we had a good opportunity to get a "close up," of all the diplomatic parties as they entered. War lords never before looked so good to me.

I had caught a glimpse of a gold-braided gorgeous door-man, and I did not want to encounter him without the diplomatic regalia, of high silk hat, black long-tail cutaway coat, and grey pin-stripped trousers, twice as wide as mine. I knew *that* would mean, "Show your ticket," and I had been met with "im-pos-see bl" at several places, where yesterday I had applied for a pass to the reporters' tables, and was told that no passes were issued, except to the local newspaper men and resident correspondents.

A huge crowd was waiting across the street in front of the Foreign Office, waiting to get a glimpse of the diplomats, whom we saw face to face.

One of the early automobiles to arrive was that containing Ambassador Herrick, and Secretary of State, Mr. Kellogg. Soon afterwards we heard the cry, *Voila Poincaré!;* then came Briand. Dr. Stresemann, looking rather pale, was recognized by the crowd across the street, and greeted with cheers as he passed. He looked pleasant. Then followed one car after another until representatives of all the fifteen nations were in the Clock Room.

As the last limousine was emptied and the few newspaper men with their big white *cartes officielles* went into the building a rush was made by the crowd across the street to enter the courtyard and get into the building, but they were held back by the gendarmes.

The formalities in the Clock Room took but little over half an hour, and as the diplomats came out to get into their automobiles, there was more cheering than when they entered. 'Twas done, the great transaction was done!

All UNITY readers have read M. Briand's address. He and Stresemann looked the happiest men in the distinguished company. One newspaper correspondent described M. Briand with tousled hair and crumpled clothes, looking like an attorney for the defense who had just finished an eloquent appeal for the prisoner at the bar.

A long row of flags of all nations were displayed from the top of the Foreign Office. It was inspiring, yes, thrilling. Flags, I think, never meant so much to me before. The weather was delightful. It was cool although the sun shone brightly nearly all day, little white tufts of clouds drifting across the deep blue sky occasionally.

Next to the speech of M. Briand's, the most significant and stirring address was one delivered by Dr. Morrison, Editor of the *Christian Century,* at the American Church, before an immense audience the day before the treaty was signed.

Dr. Morrison gave a masterly review of various peace moves of the past. He said:

"All the world is looking up to where we stand in Paris now, and enjoying the high privilege of seeing the dawn of the new day. No technical language obscures or makes uncertain the plain meaning of this treaty. For the first time in human history the nations of the earth denounce and outlaw war." He described the attitude of many pacifists toward the League of Nations as being an unhappy one, even if justified; as they seem to be holding aloof from the principal movement to establish world peace, but now everyone finds pleasure in the distinctly affirmative position which American peace advocates may take.

Many have thought that with the advance of world civilization war would be outgrown, that financial interests and the labor movement would put an end to it.

Others have adhered to the Taft idea of a League to *enforce* peace, through the use of force if necessary. But we now realize war could not be outgrown until it is outlawed, that there is no power that can prohibit war and that it can only be banished by renouncing the right to fight. Dr. Morrison paid high tribute to Mr. Levinson, Professor Dewy, Senator Borah, and others who have stood back of Secretary Kellogg and Mr. Briand in the great movement now consummated.

CHESTER C. PLATT.

*Paris, France.*

# Hoover, Smith and the International Mind

President Butler's energetic expression of dissatistion with Mr. Hoover's statement on our international duty has met with wide and warm response; for he is justified in his confidence that millions of earnest Republicans throughout the country are in agreement with him. As a party man of long service and loyalty, he is justified in maintaining his place in the party while declaring that its candidate and its platform for the moment can not commit him to positions which he condemns. Only by such large freedom and brave criticism from within can the two-party system, which America and England in the main approve, retain its health and its hold on intelligent and self-respecting men; and Dr. Butler is to be thanked for exercising his freedom and definitely declaring his dissent. It were devoutly to be wished that John W. Davis and Newton D. Baker would similarly proclaim and define their dissent from Governor Smith's treatment of the same subject; for their dissatisfaction and chagrin must be equally great.

We had a right to expect something very different from Mr. Hoover, something constructive, prophetic and worth while, for he is emphatically an international man, of unique international knowledge and experience, and earlier, along with Mr. Root, Mr. Taft, and Mr. Hughes, declared his earnest belief in our adherence to the League of Nations. Now, giving no expression to his personal views on the subject, he contents himself with the tame statement that "our country has refused membership in the League of Nations" although glad to cooperate with the League in some of its endeavors. He speaks of this as "maintaining our independence from the political exigencies of the Old World," ignoring the fact that every nation of the New World from Canada to Chile has joined the League and is heartily cooperating in the organized family of nations. He speaks in the most approved conventional fashion of "adequate preparedness for defense." "We must not only be just," he says; "we must be respected," by this, as Dr. Butler properly intimates, clearly meaning feared. If the talk is of respect, the two things that have earned real respect for us from other nations in these years are Woodrow Wilson's founding of the League of Nations and the Kellogg Treaty renouncing war as a policy in settling international disputes. This latter is the one glory of the present Republican administration, and the Kansas City platform proudly exulted in it. Although Mr. Hoover spoke on the very eve of Mr. Kellogg's departure for Paris to sign the Outlawry Treaty, with the representatives of fifteen leading nations, in the midst of such applause for the United States as has not been witnessed since President Wilson entered Paris in 1918, Mr. Hoover barely mentions it, while he was careful to declare that "in an armed world there is only one certain guarantee of freedom, and that is preparedness for defense, and that we shall therefore maintain our naval defense in the strength and efficiency which will yield us at all times the primary assurance of liberty and safety."

This is melancholy lingo, in which a man like Mr. Hoover has no right to indulge at this hour. Calvin Coolidge is not a prophet, but the whole tone of his later speech to the Legion was a world better than this. The administration's proposal last winter of a $750,000,000 naval building program, which the overwhelming uprising of the country promptly compelled Congress to bury, was made in the interest of this same "national security" which Mr. Hoover stresses, and which Dr. Butler dubs "swagger." To stress armaments at the moment when we ask other nations to join with us in renouncing war, is, as Dr. Butler warmly declares, a "tragic contradiction and hypocrisy." Great Britain, we read, has decided, in the spirit of the Kellogg treaty which she has just accepted, to give up the building of the Singapore naval base. M. Painleve, France's Minister of War, exclaims with exuberance of hope, "Let us oust the word 'war' from human speech." This was the hour for Mr. Hoover to electrify the world by some great gesture and some lofty word proclaiming that this American Republic, by the grace of God, safest of nations, proposes to act from this day on in the faith that freedom and security lie not in preparedness for defense and war, but in generous trust, in justice and good will.

I hardly need say that my general feeling for Mr. Hoover is one of admiration. His character and career are a part of our national capital and pride. His sturdy, simple, unprivileged youth; the energy and precision with which almost unaided he achieved his scientific education and the honor of all who had to do with him; the remarkable talent and proficiency which gained his early call to his revolutionizing service in Australian mines; his call by the Chinese government, on the ground of that accomplishment, to the management of China's mining department; his memorable organization and management of Belgian and Russian relief under indescribable difficulties, with the saving of millions of starving men; the resourcefulness and vigor of his Washington life, which has made "Send for Hoover" the watchword of emergencies,—these things proclaim the pioneering and muscular mind, and the robust experience which augur a radically beneficent administration. We are willing and are bound to accept the assurance of those who know him best that his action is always better than his words. But his word was not what the nation and the world waited for. His speech showed nowhere prophecy, courage, or the traits of political leadership.

What then shall the disappointed Republican or Independent do? The Democratic Party surely does not invite him. Its platform and its candidate give poor promise. The retrograde in the four years since 1924 has been marked. The thing that stands out in the memory of the national convention of 1924 is Newton D. Baker's powerful appeal to the Party to come back to allegiance to Woodrow Wilson and lead the nation to its rightful place in the organized world. John W. Davis, the presidential candidate in 1924, despite the platform's silence, sounded the same clear international note throughout the campaign. Presumably these men feel today as they felt then. The words of their Party's platform and candidate misrepresent them; and it were devoutly to be wished that they might declare it with power. Governor Smith makes the regulation Democratic genuflexion to Thomas Jefferson, greatest internationalist and peace prophet of his age, and expends rhetoric on Woodrow Wilson. But it does not seem to occur to him that the one thing for which Woodrow

Wilson will be remembered in history, the thing of glorious moment for which he lived and died, the thing for which suffering and aspiring Europe with one mighty voice of gratitude acclaimed America, was the League of Nations, a united world to succeed a warring and anarchic world. For this Alfred Smith has not a word.

No one would minimize any wholesome word by Governor Smith in this matter. His energetic arraignment of the course of President Coolidge in Nicaragua is such a wholesome word. All sensible people should now agree that our intervention in Nicaragua, opposing the liberal majority party and bolstering up a reactionary adventurer, a tool of American commercial interests, was a tragical blunder; and it was not kept from being a crime by the pretense that it was to protect American lives and property, which were never in danger. The American lives lost were of our marines pushed into the jungle in military moves never authorized by Congress. Scores of our good boys were killed or wounded in wanton fighting, involving the killing of hundreds of helpless and honest Nicaraguans, to whom our army appeared as a force of foreign invaders. A million earnest Americans will say an emphatic "Amen" to Governor Smith's emphatic "Never Again!"

"I am not of those," said Governor Smith, "who contend that everything Republican is bad and everything Democratic is good." Why not then greet with gratitude the brave and splendid Kellogg Treaty outlawing war? Here too was the place to proclaim that, if he were placed in the White House, Congress would have no new occasion to bury such a navy-building program as it buried last spring in obedience to the thunder of the people's common sense, because no such program nor any remotely resembling it would ever be submitted by his Democratic administration. He talks of removing the causes of war; but the things he talks about are vastly more consequences than causes of war. Secretary Mellon has just reminded us that 82 per cent of all our monstrous federal taxation goes to meet the cost of past and prospective war. What would not this almost incredible wealth mean in the reinforcement and enrichment of our industrial and economic life? "Do not tell people now," said the great author of "The Future of War," a quarter of a century ago, "how wicked they are in keeping up the war system; tell them what *fools* they are!"

Governor Smith's speech reveals a vital and vigorous personality; compared with it, Mr. Hoover's speech is dull reading. But it reveals no constructive statesmanship as concerns the momentous issues here surveyed. As concerns our national economic issues, tariff, farm relief, water power, there is not a cent's worth of difference between the platforms and the candidates; although upon the last Governor Smith's words have far the sharper ring. Upon the tariff, at this moment when all Europe is in revolt against barbarous and benighted trade and customs barriers, he could have said something salient and solvent; but he was intent only on the sufficient sop to Cerberus.

Herbert Hoover will undoubtedly be elected in November, and probably by an overwhelming vote. The great Republican majorities of seven and eight millions in 1920 and 1924 cannot be worn down; and Mr. Hoover is a much more popular candidate than Mr. Harding or Mr. Coolidge. That the long influence of the ambitionless Coolidge commonplace has not smothered him will be counted to his credit by sane and hopeful men. Mr. Coolidge, in world affairs, has been in action worse than his words, with the voice of Jacob always at the beginning and the hand of Esau at the end. Mr. Hoover is a robuster nature, and his school of experience has been a broader and a sterner one; and his background and biography prepare the country to believe with his friends that his actions are indeed better than his words, and that he is stronger in first place than in second. At any rate, no reason appears for changing the party administration, with the inevitable discords and delays, except for distinct cause; and there is none.

The real lesson of the campaign is the utter unreality and inefficiency of our present party alignment. There is not a thoughtful or serious man in either party who feels contented or square in his place. Neither party stands for anything distinctive; the names of both have become mere trade-marks. This is not healthy, and it cannot last. The Republican Party began seventy years ago as a party with a clear task and imperative. It was the party of aggression and reform. Today, after the years, it has become the conservative party of the country; while the Democratic party meantime has not become the Liberal party in a natural political division. Yet a true progressive party, a defined and logical Opposition, a free people must somehow create and maintain for its efficiency and health. If a party loses its vocation, then a party with a present purpose will supplant it, as the Republican Party supplanted the Whigs seventy years ago. To every time comes some great cause, some new Messiah; and if an existing party does not recognize and serve it, then a new party will surely supersede the old. Virtue on minor matters in that hour does not count for much, and will not be remembered. The party will be measured solely by its fidelity to the one commanding cause

The great cause seventy years ago was the war against slavery; the great cause today is the war against war. Abraham Lincoln and the Republican Party heard the old call. Woodrow Wilson heard the new call. Had his party followed him, it would have commanded American political life for half a century. Its opportunity and obligation were such as seldom come to parties or to men. But it had not the temper for the great adventure; it made the "great refusal," as men and nations so constantly do; and its chance is probably irretrievably lost. For the moment we seem condemned to mark time, until the people, who only can redeem the time, and at whose will parties rise and fall, speak the commanding word.

For after all, and in the last analysis, this democratic government is a government by public opinion; and that public opinion is not shaped by presidents and senators alone, but also by church and school and press and industry and commerce. These agencies are waking to a new sense of their responsibility and power. It was they which almost in an hour compelled the administration to withdraw its wanton naval program last spring. It might with high warrant be claimed that when two years ago the President and Secretary Kellogg sent to Congress their incredibly foolish messages on the Mexican situation, half a dozen of our great journals, with no cooperating planning, but with a common sense of propriety and a clearer grasp of the facts than that possessed by the government authorities, by their prompt and powerful editorial action saved the nation from catastrophe. And the President in his pique has been scolding them intermittently ever since for

meddling with our foreign policy! The journals were instantly reinforced by the churches, and by Senator Borah; and the country had a chance to take its breath.

In the Senate, unhappily, there is little leadership. There are few personalities there that appeal to the popular imagination or the national conscience. There are few even visualized in the minds of our people, let alone other peoples. Our people know a dozen leaders in Parliament, in the Reichstag, in the French Chamber; but the only American senator known to the commonalty of Paris or London is Senator Borah.

Why is there no leadership in the Senate, no salient speech, few salient men? Because there is no cause! Without a cause, politics becomes machinery and elections a game. That is our situation today. Half the Senate marks time and plays for position in election; and the people are lulled by programs of safety first, irresponsibility and comfort. It is a nation's perdition to be merely safe and comfortable when it ought to be taking mighty risks for mankind; and when in the most powerful and privileged nation on earth a great national election turns entirely on comfort, and a million voters are chiefly concerned with the percentage of alcohol in their drink, that nation is in the advanced stages of dry rot. To be red in the face about bigger navies when we are safe to the nth power, and when in the world's great crisis humanity and history thunder in our ears, is the apoplexy of senility. The ghosts of Washington and Jefferson walk the earth at night warning the waking to bethink themselves of the first line of defense for the nation's soul.

I believe that the people are not false, but have been betrayed. Writes an able Boston journalist at this hour, rejoicing in the signing of the Kellogg Treaty at Paris:

> The world now sees that there are better ways to do everything that war has ever done. Noble men out of office and statesmen in office all around the world are seeking these ways, and the masses of the people in every land demand them.

And Mr. Kellogg himself says: "The common people are of one mind in their desire to see the abolition of war." The people are better than the politicians; and the churches, the colleges, the better journals, throb with the vision and the call. There is more real statesmanship today in the pulpit than in the Senate; and our religion becomes more religious as it becomes more political and realizes at last with the Master and the prophets that its business is to establish the kingdom of God on earth. The churches and the scholars will not make the political parties listen today; for they are too busy with the game. But they will make them listen and obey tomorrow.

EDWIN D. MEAD.

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## The Art of Rain-Making

I note in the press the determination of the San Francisco police "to clean the city by getting it rid of fake clairvoyants, fortune-telling seers and the like." This laudable purpose has led to the arrest of one "Carlos de Alvandros," otherwise known as "Professor Kaldah," otherwise again, as a janitor in the office of a police judge. For a favorable turn of fortune as seen through a magic crystal, this gentleman accepted a marked note of $500, and is now "in the city prison on charges of petty larceny by trick and device and vagrancy."

That the press generally approve of the purpose of the police is evident. The strange thing, however, is that certain larger operators of similar type seem to meet everywhere with respectful consideration.

Passing by "Cozette's Horoscope" and the report of "What the Stars Tell Us," "What the Heavens Declare," by methods quite alien to Astronomy, we come to a particularly "sure thing in finance" on a larger scale.

A pluviculturist or rain-maker in California is reported to have received $8,000 (in unmarked bills) for producing and delivering a shower of rain in one of our thirsty inland counties, the plan being "no rain, no pay." Such a rain might be worth perhaps $50,000 to the farmers and fruit growers concerned. On this plan a rainless day would cost the farmers nothing; a rainy day would yield them a great profit. While in either case the rain-maker, if he follows the rules of the game, would receive a clear gain of about $6,000, and this with practically no investment except "science."

There is a corporation known as Lloyds, ready to insure anybody against anything, at a fair percentage, this determined by probabilities. Every well regulated stadium, for example, insures against a rainy football day or track-meet. Reimbursements for losses make it possible to try again. The rates of insurance naturally vary. To insure for rain, the premium in California would be lowest in March, highest in July. Let us assume that in the San Joaquin Valley in April Lloyds would charge about twenty-five per cent, $2,000 on $8,000.

The account would thus be about as follows:

*In Case of Rain*

| | |
|---|---|
| Expended by the rain-maker— | |
| Premium to Lloyd's | $ 2,000 |
| Chemicals and tools | 50 |
| Received— | |
| From the people interested | 8,000 |
| Value of rain to the people | 50,000 |
| Profits to people through rainmaker (estimated) | 42,000 |
| Profits to people with no rain-maker (estimated) | 50,000 |
| Profits to rain-maker (estimated) | 5,950 |

*In Case of No Rain*

| | |
|---|---|
| Premium to Lloyd's | 2,000 |
| Chemicals and tools | 50 |
| Cost to people | 00,000 |
| Gain to people | 00,000 |
| Received from Lloyds by rain-maker | 8,000 |
| Profits to rain-maker | 5,950 |

There seems to be but one embarrassment possible to arise. There is danger of overdoing the matter. It has twice happened in California that the rainfall has been so great as to ruin business. In the face of great washouts, the innocent rain-maker rarely has the nerve to claim his fee. The truthful plea "I didn't do it" might injure the future of the profession. To admit responsibility might invite damage suits which would cut into the profits.

Was it Barnum who declared that "a sucker is born every hour?" As Herbert Spencer observed: "To save people from the consequences of their folly would fill the world with fools."

DAVID STARR JORDAN.

## Gandhi On Prohibition

"I ask you to realize the fact that the alteration of the present Abkari Act with regard to making, manufacture and possession of liquor, etc., must necessarily, to a large extent, lead to harassing of the people. You must be prepared for such a harassment which is an inevitable concomitant of the policy of prohibition. I must count then upon your unstinted support. I do not want your support for picketing shops, to preach about the evils of drink and other kindred work. But I want your help in the matter of putting down illicit manufacture of liquor and kindred crimes."

This is an extract from the speech of the Madras Minister for Public Health and Excise reported in the *Hindu*. There is one more assistance the Minister has asked the people to render, i. e., submit to increased taxation. Of this I do not propose at present to say anything except that where the people are able, they should submit to further taxation in proof of necessity. No monetary cost is too great to pay for achieving total prohibition.

But at the present moment, I would confine myself to the extract quoted by me. I fear that the Minister has taken a wrong view of prohibition. In my opinion, it has not to be taken piece-meal. To be successful it should be taken as a whole. It is not a one-district question but it is an all-India question. I have not hesitated to give my opinion, that it was a wicked thing for the Imperial Government to have transferred this the most immoral source of revenue to the provinces and to have thus made this tainted revenue the one source for defraying the cost of the education of Indian youth.

But what pains me about the Minister's speech is his superficial treatment of a question which affects the well-being of the masses. Surely he is not serious about his scheme if he expects the people to do his police work. And why does he frighten the people by saying that *there must be harassment* if prohibition is tried? Is there harassment of the people because theft or manufacture of gunpowder are classed as crimes? Is not unlicensed distillation even now a crime? What the minister implies therefore is, that the men who today hold licenses to manufacture or sell liquor will after the prohibition distill surreptitiously and that therefore they will be harassed. There need be in this no harassment of the people.

But it betrays want of imagination and lack of sympathy with the people, if the Minister believes that as a prohibitionist he has nothing more to do than to declare prohibition and prosecute those who will break his laws. I venture to submit that prosecutions are the smallest and the destructive part of prohibition. I suggest that there is a larger and constructive side to prohibition. People drink because of the conditions to which they are reduced. It is the factory laborers and others that drink. They are forlorn, uncared for, and they take to drink. They are no more vicious by nature than teetotallers are saints by nature. The majority of people are controlled by their environment. Any minister who is sincerely anxious to make prohibition a success will have to develop the zeal and qualities of a reformer. He will then require precisely the help that the Madras Minister is reported to have scorned. In my humble opinion, he does need pickets and men and women who would "preach about the evils of drink" and do "other kindred work." It is just in these very things that he will want an army of volunteers who will be associated with him in reforming the life of the drunkard. He will have to convert every drink shop into a refreshment shop and concert room combined. Poor laborers will want some place where they can congregate and get wholesome, cheap, refreshing, non-intoxicating drinks, and if they can have some good music at the same time, it would prove as a tonic to them and draw them. These can by judicious management and association of the people become paying concerns for the state. He who will handle the problem of temperance will have to give a more serious study to it than the Minister seems to have done. Let him study the methods adopted in America and tried by the great temperance organizations of the world. This study will give but limited help. For the Western conditions are widely different from the Indian. Our methods too, will have, therefore, to be largely different. Whereas total prohibition in the West is most difficult of accomplishment, I hold that it is the easiest of accomplishment in this country. When an evil like drink in the West attains the status of respectability, it is the most difficult to deal with. With us drink is still, thank God, sufficiently disreputable and confined not to the general body of the people but to a minority of the poor classes.

—*Mahatma Gandhi.*

*Young India*

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### Beauty Alone Has Power

Old and blind? But still I taste life's joy,
For in the darkened rooms that are my eyes
Is flashed, in high relief, the loveliness
That throbbingly had fixed itself upon my brain
In other days, before night's curtain fell.

Even now, as on my cheek this sharp air blows,
I see against the dark screen of my mind
The patterned crystals on the ice-bound earth;
The feel of sun brings there the high blue sky,
White-tufted with the little button-clouds
That float serene above this restless world,
And, outlined on the arching blue, our elms
Stretch forth their arms in eager welcoming
Towards the advancing waves they think to clasp.

At times a careless word brings rapture
To my heart and mind, now freed from crowding sights
That hide the trees and sky from seeing man.
With *"green"* I live the glory of the Spring;
I see the water stir and beat against
The walls of ice and snow that bind the Lake,
The spring-wind blows, the new grass grows,
The robins sing and build, forsythia flowers
And golden buds light up the faded trees.

On days of mist I walk at ease again,
For when I feel as in my seeing years
When fog pressed down so close upon my eyes
I thought the lids had dropped beneath its weight,
And I went blindly groping in the dark
That shut me into silent solitude.

Beauty alone has power to lighten darkness
For ugliness lives the mere moment's seeing.
But there are days, eternal ones they seem,
When Beauty fails me, and no image shows
Upon the screen of dark within my eyes—

O then I am in truth, old, old and blind.

FRANCES R. ANGUS.

## The Catholic Crusade

[*An Interview with Conrad Noel.*]

It was in a small London hotel. Tired after traveling I was wondering how to spend the rest of the evening. A group of men in one corner of the lounge were talking. As I was not reading I could not but overhear their talk; it was concerning communism. My ears were instantly sensitive to catch what they were saying. In the quiet even tones which characterize the Englishman at his best in discussion, they were considering the relation of Christianity to communism. I asked them to allow me to join in. As the conference had been going on since six it closed soon afterwards. They went out. I began to regret having interrupted. Then the man who was their leader returned and I introduced myself. He was Conrad Noel, Vicar of Thaxted, leader of the Catholic Crusade.

Conrad Noel is I judge in his early fifties, gray haired. His face showed the marks of struggle and suffering. He was dressed in blue business suit without the clerical collar. There is a quiet force, a good-tempered understanding of the position of those who differ with him which inspires confidence.

"Tell me about the Catholic Crusade," I asked. "Is it chiefly concerned with ritual and ecclesiastical formula?"

"Gladly," he answered. "We are an organization in the established church, and we use the word Catholic not in the Anglo-Catholic sense but to emphasize the social responsibility of Christianity. We belong to what might be called the left wing of the Labor Party movement. We are Socialists and some might call us Communists."

"How is it, then, that you are able to keep your place in the church?" I queried.

"That," he replied, "is one of the weaknesses and at the same time one of the strong points of the Church of England. They almost succeeded in putting me out, but after a man once gets in it is difficult to get rid of him, and they now practically let me alone."

"Is your position really the Communist position? Must the change in society come by force?"

"Yes and no. As a matter of fact, there is now within our group a difference of opinion. Some believe in using force to bring about the overthrow of the present capitalistic order and to establish social democracy, while others believe in it only as a last resort measure in the event of a Facist counter-revolution to overthrow the socialist revolution after it has occurred. We are now trying to decide what our position is going to be. Anyway we feel that the right wing of the Labor Party is far too conservative. It may interest you to know that one of our men has written a pamphlet, 'Christianity, Dope or Dynamite!'"

"We are getting both students and tutors from Cambridge University. People motor out to our conferences, which are held in our church plant. Ours is a large and historic church building which is an object of interest in itself. Then too I give quite a bit of time to the Student Christian Movement."

"The Student Christian Movement," I interrupted. "I did not realize it was as radical as that."

"Well, while it does not go as far as I do, it uses me in conferences and they have published some of my writings."

"That reminds me," he went on, "I am now working on a life of Christ, written from the economic viewpoint. I find the work of research into the sources has taken much time. Now I have postponed it and am working on an attack on British Imperialism. I believe imperialism to be the last battle line of capitalism.

It was getting late and Mr. Noel bade me good night.

What shall we say about Conrad Noel? He is undoubtedly courageous and sincere. From a selfish standpoint he has everything to lose and nothing to gain, from his campaign. The Communist group has no political power. But that men like Conrad Noel will be strong influences to keep the Labor Movement from veering too sharply to the right no one can doubt. And when the Parliamentary Labor Party hesitates to go to the country say with an issue like the nationalization of the coal industry, men of his type are needed. There is danger that the Parliamentary Labor Party will become only a more progressive alternative to the Conservative party and that it will delay the settling of the real issue by not coming out definitely with a specific program for the beginning transfer of the means of production and distribution to social ownership and control.

JULIAN S. DUNCAN.

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## The Quakers and Slavery

In 1777 there were in Dover, N. H., seven men, members of the Society of Friends, who owned nine Negro slaves whom they liberated. It seems that John Woolman, according to his Journal, wrote part the second of his work entitled "Considerations on Keeping Negroes," in the year 1762, and he also labored personally with prominent Friends about this time concerning slavery. We may reasonably suppose that indirectly the Dover Friends who held slaves came under conviction of their error through him. One of them, named Thomas Hanson, took pains to secure "effectually" the liberty of his former slave "Peter." The following quaint and impressive document has lately been found by a member of the Dover Society of Friends in the ancient records of that body.

I, Thomas Hanson of Dover, in the Government of New Hampshire, having for some years held Peter, a negro man, as slave according to the tradition of the country, but being convinced of the error of the practice and of the right of all men to be free I some time past gave him his liberty. But the more effectually to secure the same and to publish my unity with the Christian testimony in this matter I do by these presents manumit, release and set free the said negro man Peter in as full a manner as if he had been free born, and hereby warrant to secure and defend his said freedom against the claims of all persons claiming from, by or under me. In witness whereof I hereunto set my hand the twenty-first day of the eleventh month, 1777.

Moses Brown. James Neal. —*Thomas Hanson.*

Before the Civil War broke out the Friends had liberated practically all slaves held by them throughout the whole country. Therefore they had no part in the war and refused military service, though some did bear arms and were consequently disowned.

CLARENCE I. PINKHAM.

# The Study Table

*Reviewed by John Haynes Holmes*

### A Great President

It would take more space than we have available in this department to describe adequately the worth and importance of this new biography of Andrew Johnson*. In our judgment no more valuable book has been published in many years. This for two reasons! In the first place, Professor Winston has given us the only real biography of a man who was President of the United States in one of the stormiest periods of its life, that has ever been written. In the most recent history of our country, for example, the "Oxford History of the United States," by Professor Samuel Eliot Morison, published in 1927, the author has to record (on page 336 in volume II) that "there is no good published biography of Johnson." This deplorable gap has now been filled by the devoted and exhaustive labors of Professor Winston. In the second place, this book rehabilitates the character and work of the most terribly abused man in American history. In a day when it is the biographical fashion to rend in pieces the reputations of great and good men, it is a reassuring thing to find one historical figure, long since cast down into the mire of public infamy and shame, who can be lifted up and placed upon the high pedestal of honor. Professor Winston has written no maudlin, sentimental tale. He has gone to sources unknown to, or ignored by, even such careful and fair-minded historians as James Ford Rhodes, and found the truth about a man gravely misunderstood and outrageously abused. Our biographer has done a piece of work as noble as it is scientific.

In the reading of this fascinating volume, certain things become plain beyond all future questioning.

First and most important, it is here made manifest that in that long and furious battle with the Congressional Radicals, led by Thaddeus Stevens in the House and Charles Sumner in the Senate, Andrew Johnson was right and the Radicals were wrong. Had not the din of that ferocious fight between President and Congress, ending at last in the great drama of the impeachment trial, drowned out all other voices, had not the mad passions at work strangled all considerations of fact and reason, to say nothing of fair play, it would have been remembered that Johnson's policy was Lincoln's policy, and therefore presumably sound. Seward and Welles and others stood by Johnson as they had stood by Lincoln himself, because they knew that he was right. But what could not or would not be seen amid the vast confusions of the time, has been made clear by later history. As recently as October, 1926, the Tenure of Office Act, the climactic crisis of the long warfare between the Capitol and the White House in Johnson's day, was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. Other and earlier decisions have "held that President Johnson was within his rights when he vetoed the Civil Rights Act, the Freedmen's Bureau Act, and the Reconstruction Acts." Seldom has vindication been so complete and authoritative.

Secondly, Professor Winston's volume restores to memory the record of Andrew Johnson's indispensable services to the Union in 1861-65, almost forgotten in the more conspicuous and dramatic story of his presidency. There can be little question that, had Johnson been assassinated with Lincoln, as was duly planned for the fateful 14th of April, 1865, he would have gone down in history side by side with the Great Emancipator as the reverenced and beloved hero of a great cause. In the years preceding the Civil War, he stood almost alone in the South as the unswerving champion of the Union and therefore as the uncompromising opponent of secession. After the outbreak of the War, he sat "in the Senate Chamber the only member from a seceding state. All others were gone." For three years he served amid innumerable difficulties and perils as the Military Governor of Tennessee. He was in constant touch and ardent accord with Lincoln and was Lincoln's personal choice as his running mate in the campaign of 1864. "Old Andy" Johnson was hated as cordially in the South as he was beloved in the North, and was second only to Lincoln himself as the hero of the hour. Whatever he did or did not do in his four years as President, Andrew Johnson's services before and during the Civil War should give him a permanent and high place in the affection and gratitude of all Americans.

Again, Professor Winston's biography tears into shreds the vile tissue of lies and slanders which enwrap the character of Andrew Johnson to this very hour. George H. Boutwell's villainous charge that the President was a party to the conspiracy that murdered Lincoln hardly needs refutation. The popular idea that Johnson was a drunkard and a sot certainly does. And Professor Winston offers this refutation with unanswerable testimony as to Johnson's sobriety and high sense of personal dignity. Andrew Johnson came from rude stock and rude culture; he was a man of violent speech to the end of his days. But he was a gentleman, immaculate in his dress, temperate in his eating and drinking, singly devoted to his wife and family, and of incorruptible integrity and honor. There were two unfortunate episodes in his career. One was his speech on the occasion of his inauguration as Vice-President, when he was sick, nerve-racked, and dosed with the alcoholic stimulants of the day. The other was his famous "swing around the circle," when he used campaign tactics well adapted to the frontier life of Tennessee but unsuited to the nation at large. Emphasize these two lapses to the uttermost, and they furnish a ridiculously unsubstantial basis for the vast edifice of shame wantonly reared upon the fame of an honest, self-sacrificing and courageous public servant.

The word, "courageous," typifies the next great contribution made to history by Professor Winston's volume. With no fulsome rhetoric, but with only a simple statement of the facts, the author shows that Andrew Johnson was one of the most courageous men who ever lived. He feared nothing. Before angry mobs threatening his life, before assassins lurking in the dark by-ways of city streets or the hidden underbrush of country roads, before Confederate armies following his tracks and besieging his capital, before maddened politicians defaming his honor as a man and wrecking his career as a politician, before these and all other perils he stood unflinching. For five years, he was an exile from his home; he was separated from his family, and stripped of his property; his life was in daily peril. Yet he moved as calm and serene as in those terrible days

(*) "Andrew Johnson: Plebeian and Patriot," by Robert W. Winston. Published by Henry Holt & Co. $5.

of the impeachment trial, when he sat daily at his desk without a tremor of dismay. "The Leonine Johnson" only partly describes the heroic fibre of this man. He was courage incarnate.

Lastly, this book reminds us anew of the romance of Johnson's life. There is nothing like it in American history, except only the romance of Abraham Lincoln. A runaway tailor's apprentice, unable to write until painfully taught by his wife to fashion the strange symbols of the alphabet, so poor as to have in the beginning neither roof to his head nor clothes to his back, Andrew Johnson rose by sheer native courage and ability from the lowest to the highest rung in the ladder. It is a story to catch the breath, and stir the heart. It should have its place among the heroic folk-tales of our people.

Professor Winston's book has some curious errors in the text. "Chance" (p. 53) should be "change"; "Burton" Corbett (p. 277) should be "Boston" Corbett; Morrill was Senator from Vermont, not from Maine (p. 411). These and a few other slips, like "1912" for "1812" (p. 7) and "me" for "be" (p. 119), can easily be corrected in the new edition which the importance of this work should make certain.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

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### Another American History

Professor Morison wrote this book** while he was in residence at Oxford as occupant of the chair of American History. He undertook the task "in the hope of introducing British readers to the history of the United States." His work, therefore, is intended primarily for the British public, and thus has a viewpoint which is unique and original. For the American reader, there is a certain novelty in viewpoint and in selection of material which gives an altogether delightful flavor to an old story. We have read this book with a sustained and lively interest which has been lacking in our reading of other contemporary works on the same subject.

But Professor Morison's peculiar aim at a foreign audience is not the only, nor do we believe the chief, reason for the fascination which surrounds his pages like an atmosphere. This distinguished Harvard scholar has succeeded in doing what most modern historians fail or scorn to do. He has retained the drama, the story value, of his theme, without any sacrifice of that scientific analysis of cause and effect which marks the difference between real and spurious history. Professor Morison, for example, is as familiar as Professor Beard with the economic and social forces, the far-flung impersonal factors, which entered into the making of our American civilization. He knows as well as Professor Beard, also, that there is something more in the story of the American people than a listing of presidents and a narrating of battles on land and sea. But he never forgets that social and economic forces present a drama of thrilling interest; and that presidents and wars, as they held the attention of men in their own day, must still hold much of the attention of men in later days. The Civil War, for example, was really a world-shaking event, and its campaigns, therefore, matters of enormous concern to the destinies of mankind. When Professor Morison gives scores of pages to the description of war operations which Professor Beard ignored altogether, we believe he is justified from the standpoint not merely of the story, but of historical science itself.

If we were to sum up the outstanding merit of this work among contemporary works on the American theme, we would say that it lies in the author's recognition that persons as well as forces go to the making of history. Professor Morison is always aware that human nature is involved in the panorama as well as geography, and climate, and farm products, and railways, and factory machines. He even thinks that great men—yes, even small men—have played their part in the course of events, and that no story of these events can be complete or accurate which does not include the story of these men. We were inordinately happy to discover in the pages of this book that such men as Jefferson and Hamilton and John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay and Charles Sumner and Theodore Roosevelt had actually lived and done something in the way of determining the trends of history. It did us good to find several thrilling pages given to Webster's "Reply to Hayne"—to see the battle-tale of Gettysburg stopped for a moment for a tribute to that most brilliant of corps commanders, General Winfield Scott Hancock—to find Andrew Johnson lifted to a position of dignity and honor, as though in anticipation of Professor Winston's biography. It was this recognition of the place and part of personality in history—this, more than any other one thing—which made the reading of Professor Morison's book a perpetual delight, whereas the reading of Professor Beard's undoubted masterpiece a year ago was a burden and weariness to the mind.

We commend Professor Morison's work as the best American history now available within its limits (it starts in 1783, with the end of the Revolution). It should have a wide reading, and a permanent place in all libraries and schools.

(**) "The Oxford History of the United States," by Samuel Eliot Morison. Published by the Oxford University Press, American Branch. Two volumes. $10.

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### Judaism and Christianity

This book,*** only recently published, was in its original form an essay which was awarded in 1917 the Kaufman Kohler Prize. In bestowing this prize, the judges stated, "It is an altogether new work and original in character. It contains many points of view that are new and helpful in the elucidation of the principle elaborated by the author. . . It is the result of painstaking industry and thoroughgoing study of the Jewish and modern sources." It was this judgment, which we believe to be sound, which made the original essay a prize-winner, and makes the present volume a work of genuine importance.

What Rabbi Silver has done is to open up anew the old controversy between Judaism and Christianity as to the merits of their respective ethical systems. For ages Christians have contended that the great superiority of Christianity over Judiaism is to be found in the fact that Christianity makes *love* the dominating principle of life, whereas Judaism finds this principle

***"Justice and Judaism," by Maxwell Silver. Published by the Bloch Publishing Company, New York.

in *justice*. In refuting this contention, Jewish scholars, as Rabbi Silver points out in his Introduction, have accepted the assumption, implicit in the Christian statement of the problem, that love is of course superior to justice. Never questioning this assumption for a moment, these champions of Judaism have attempted to defend the claims of their own religion by proclaiming that Christianity has no monopoly of love. Judaism also teaches that love is "the greatest thing in the world." It extols justice, to be sure, and exalts righteousness, but at bottom it establishes love as the basic standard of the perfect life, as witness the numerous passages in the Old Testament and in later Jewish literature which speak of God as a loving deity and enjoin love as between man and man. Christianity, in other words, in declaring that "the greatest of these is love," is only doing again in its own way what Judaism has already done before it.

This argument of the Jewish advocates has never to our mind been convincing. It has always seemed to us that they were arguing a desperate case out of the sheer necessities of a situation unfavorable to themselves, and not under the compulsion of truth. It interests us enormously now to discover that Rabbi Silver, in this volume, agrees with us. "To our mind," he says, "the Christian scholars are right in their contention that Judaism did not, as Christianity did, place love above justice as the all-regulating principle of man's social life, that Judaism rather assigned that supreme place to justice." But this agreement does not lead our author to concede that Judaism is therefore inferior ethically to Christianity. On the contrary, he contends that it is just this fact, successfully established by Christian advocates, which proves Judaism to be superior to Christianity, for it is justice that is superior to love as the law and rule of human life, and not love which is superior to justice! Here is a viewpoint which is new and striking. It takes Christianity at its word, and then attempts to convict it on the basis of this word. The strategy of such dialectic is as brilliant as it is original. It changes the whole front of Jewish controversy, and for the first time brings effective challenge to the Christian position.

The substance of Rabbi Silver's book, to the average reader at least, is to be found in the first two chapters, wherein he weighs the merits of justice as over against love. In the first chapter, the author analyzes these virtues psychologically, and shows that the sentiment of justice is prior to the sentiment of love in the functioning of man's life, and, in the working out of social principles, is itself the condition of love. The very ends and aims which love seeks to fulfill, in other words, can only be attained through justice. This is because love has certain inherent social failings which wholly incapacitate it for safely serving as the foundation of social life. Thus, love is "narrow and clannish," limiting its blessings to the few; secondly, love is "partial," being easily swayed by concrete personal prejudices; again, love is blind and unreflective, serving the immediate need rather than the ultimate good; lastly, love is uncoercive, yielding, non-resistant, and thus avoids that assertion of force and will which is indispensable for the overthrow of evil and the establishing of good. Where love fails in all these particulars, justice is strong. "Psychology, then, commands justice as the fundamental social principle."

In the second chapter, the author studies the contrast between justice and love from the ethical standpoint; and he finds that what psychology commands pragmatically, ethics justifies ideally. The purpose of life, in each individual instance, is "full expression of all instincts and sentiments." The business of society is to afford this opportunity for "full expression" to every humblest person. Justice is the principle by which this business is achieved, since it is justice, and justice alone, which embodies the "general ethical mandate to be a person and respect others as persons, to treat others as ends, never as mere means to one's own ends." Especially impressive in this chapter is the attempt of the author to end the old antinomy between justice and mercy. Justice, he declares, includes mercy, and all the social virtues usually identified with love. Indeed, justice is the higher mercy—the love that looks far and thus sees to the end. Justice, then, as Aristotle put it, is a "complete virtue, . . . the supreme virtue, . . . the summary of all virtue." And since Judaism, as all agree, exalts this virtue as does no other religion in the world, it is the supreme religion.

This is a strong argument. It is honest, as the old Jewish argument against ethical Christianity was never honest, and convincing as this argument was never convincing. This does not mean that we are prepared to accept it *in toto*. We see point after point where the author scores heavily against Christianity, as in his contention that it is the Christian emphasis upon love that has led the church into that "other-worldliness" which has been its bane for centuries. In the other land, we see serious, perhaps fatal weaknesses in the book, as in the author's utter failure to recognize the aggressive, militant aspect of love—what Gandhi calls "non-violent resistance." But we do not intend that this review shall itself be an argument. We want it rather to be an announcement and report of an important book which should have the attention of every serious-minded Jew and Christian.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

## Correspondence

### The Tolstoy Number

I

Editor of UNITY:

The Tolstoy centenary number is a splendid effort. I am enjoying it hugely, and write this word of congratulation and cheer. . . .

My interest in the work which UNITY is doing is not abated by the fact that we do not always agree on "matters theological." But I agree with you and with UNITY that "all religions are essentially from, and of, one source," and that this "source" is spiritual, developed by man himself. Such souls as Tolstoy, Gandhi, Buddha, Lao-Tse, Confucius, etc., are full and sufficient evidence of the truth of this statement. . . .

The Brotherhood-of-Man idea is rapidly gaining ground among all thinking peoples, as evidenced by recent events of international importance. The signing of the Peace Pact by fifteen leading nations is ominous of good in the near future. So your audience and fellowship is larger, I feel, than you think sometimes. I would cheer you in your efforts by a word from Andrew Jackson Davis, that enlightened soul of our own age and country—"Therefore, be of good cheer, for Error (ignorance) is mortal and cannot live; Truth is immortal and cannot die."

I shall renew my subscription to UNITY this year, and every year during my earthly existence; and I shall continue to send it to "those sitting in darkness" at times when I can afford it.

SPENCER M. DE GOLIER.

*Bradford, Penn.*

## The Field

*"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."*

### ANNOUNCEMENT

Dr. Curtis W. Reese, Secretary of the Western Unitarian Conference, Editor of UNITY and president of Lombard College, has accepted an invitation to deliver a series of three lectures in January, 1929, at the Madras University on the subject "The One Increasing Purpose that runs through the Ages." This will be done in connection with Dr. Reese's trip to India as a delegate of the American Unitarian Association to the 100th Anniversary of the Brahmo Samaj.

### A STUDY GROUP AT LINCOLN CENTRE

A Study Group for the purpose of pursuing courses in various fields of academic subjects will meet at Lincoln Center every Wednesday evening at 8 o'clock. The initial course will be with Professor Haydon on the subject of "History of Religions." The first meeting of the class will be on October 3rd. Those who are interested in joining the group are invited to enroll. The fees are at the rate of fifty cents a session.

For detailed information write or call Mrs. B. R. Davidson, 5312 Drexel Ave. Fairfax 3741.

### THE FIRST INDIA CONFERENCE IN AMERICA

*A Survey of India's Life and Thought, Art and Culture.*

The First India Conference in America to be held in New York City has been organized with a view to present and to make available a comprehensive knowledge and reliable information about India and her people, her art, philosophy and religion, her ancient civilization and her modern problems. This was announced today by Mr. Hari G. Govil, Chairman of the India Conference and Director of the India Society of America, Inc., Times Building, New York City, under whose auspices the Conference is being arranged.

Sessions of the India Conference will be held during the three weeks from Oct. 14, to Nov. 5, 1928, at which recognized authorities and prominent speakers, both Hindus and Americans, will participate in the discussion of India's problems and the presentation of the artistic, cultural and philosophic contributions of India to the world.

According to Mr. Govil's statement, there is a widespread misunderstanding in America and the West regarding India's social, religious and political aspects and her historic past. Since the modern world is not the ancient world of slow communication, whatever of significance occurs in India has immediate effect not only in the trade marts, but also in a subtler way on the intellectual and spiritual growth of America. Statesmen and educators are realizing the importance of the role the Orient plays in the problem of world peace and the progress of mankind. For a proper understanding of Asia, one must grasp the importance of the position India occupies, culturally as well as geographically. Just as America represents the highest achievement of the scientific West, India represents the lofty spiritual achievement of the East. It is, therefore, imperative that these two great countries unite in an effort to attain to an intelligent and sympathetic understanding of each other. The India Conference is a medium for harmonizing the deeper values of the Oriental and Occidental civilizations.

The Conference will be conducted through general and round-table sessions. At the general sessions, lectures of interest to the general public will be offered. Vital issues pertaining to India, with particular reference to America will be discussed at the various round-table conferences.

The program of the Conference will include an exhibition of Modern Hindu Art which has been brought to this country for the first time. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, foremost feminist of India, formerly president of the Indian National Congress and mayor of Bombay, who is visiting America for the first time, will be one of the main speakers. Mrs. Naidu is India's greatest woman in public life and one of her finest orators. She is a brilliant figure both socially and politically and has been a co-worker with Mahatma Gandhi.

Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy, keeper of the India Section, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and one of the foremost authorities on Hindu art, will lecture on the "Recent Discoveries in Hindu Art and Archeology." Prof. Herbert Adams Gibbons of Princeton University, will speak on the "Role of India in the New Asia." Mr. Dhan Gopal Mukerji, Hindu author and lecturer, who has just returned from a visit to India and Europe, will present, "What Has India to Offer to the Modern West?" Rev. Dr. J. T. Sunderland will give an address on "The Civilization of India and Her Place in the Modern World." Dr. Alfred W. Martin of the Ethical Culture Society of New York and one of the vice-presidents of the India Society of America will speak on "Tagore and the Reconciliation of the Orient and the Occident." Prof. S. L. Joshi of Dartmouth College will discuss "Religion in the Life of the East and in the West." Mr. Hemendra K. Rakhit, editor of the "Hindustani Student," will talk on "Present Economical and Social Outlook in India." Prof. Edwin R. A. Seligman of Columbia University, and one of the vice-presidents of the India Society of America; Dr. John Haynes Holmes, minister of the Community Church and President of the India Society of America; Prof. Harry F. Ward of the Union Theological Seminary, New York, and other prominent speakers will participate in the India Conference.

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### The Tolstoy Number

II

Editor of UNITY:

I am moved to thank you for the Tolstoy number of UNITY, not only because of the fine contribution your prophetic paper has made to an understanding of the character of this great man but for what Tolstoy has been in my own life. I need not recite my experience other than to say that I suppose the only church in the world that has the name of Tolstoy in its ceiling among the names of other prophets is my own church—the Christian Temple. He surely has fallowed the ground and I name him among the first to whom I am most deeply indebted.

PETER AINSLIE,
Minister, the Christian Temple.
Editor, the Christian Union Quarterly.

*Baltimore, Md.*

[Congratulations to Dr. Ainslie and the Christian Temple for enrolling Tolstoy among the prophets. But they must share the glory with the Community Church of New York, which also has Tolstoy's name in letters of gold upon its walls. We wonder if any other church has done the same.—J. H. H.]

III

Editor of UNITY:

The Tolstoy edition of UNITY was a notable achievement.

(Rev.) EDWIN HENRY WILSON,
*Unitarian Church, Dayton, Ohio.*

IV

Editor of UNITY:

Congratulations on the Centennial Issue! It is a fine tribute and incidentally in my judgment the best of journalism for that specialized, high-caliber audience which UNITY has won. What other publication would think it could do a thing like this? Or what you did with Morel and have done with Gandhi? And therein, it seems to me, lies your greatest power—that you are not afraid to leave the ruts.

HENRY BAILEY STEVENS,
Author of "Tolstoy: A Drama."

V

Editor of UNITY:

Your Tolstoy number is one of the best things ever done by UNITY. Congratulations!

(Rev.) GEORGE L. THOMPSON.

VI

Editor of UNITY:

I have just received the Tolstoy number and wish to congratulate you upon it.

KENNETH W. PORTER.
*Boston, Mass.*

VII

Editor of UNITY:

The Tolstoy number ought to be put into pamphlet form. It is the most vital number I have ever read. Please send me about fifteen copies. Will send check on receipt of bill.

MORRIS LYCHENHEIM.
*Chicago.*

## Equipment for Understanding the Community Church Movement

Piper, The Community Church, 160 pages
Paper bound ..... $1.00
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82 pages, paper bound..... .25
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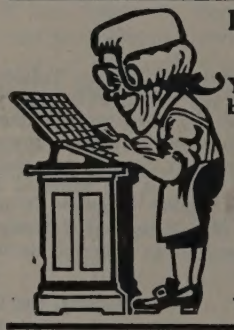

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The schedule of the Conference will also include a program of Hindu Music by Hindu artists and "Glimpses of India" with the aid of motion-picture and lantern slides.

The First India Conference in America promises to be an unique opportunity of acquiring a comprehensive understanding and a broader perspective of that vast country of 350 million people —India—a living museum of world religions, races, customs, languages and philosophies.

India Society of America,
1107 Times Building,
New York City.

### A PACIFIST APPEAL TO THE FRENCH ELECTORATE

Just before the recent French elections, the French section of the Women's International League carried on an active peace campaign. They distributed leaflets everywhere appealing to the voters, which read:

Do you know—
that factories are manufacturing great quantities of arms, ammunition and poison gas—just as though a war were imminent?

Do you know—
that between 1926 and 1928 the navy budget has increased from 1,431 million French francs to 2,552 millions, and the army budget from 4,500 millions to 6,778 millions, i. e., an increase of 75 per cent in the navy and 45 per cent in the army?

Do you know—
that the laboratories of the scientists are being used to perfect medical and bacteriological methods of warfare which will make the next war a war of extermination in which the civilian population will be exposed to the most horrible suffering?

Do you know—
that in France 17 out of every 1,000 persons are soldiers, while in the United States and Russia only 3.8 in 1,000 are soldiers, and in Japan only 3.5 per 1,000?

Do you know—
that it is proposed to introduce military training into the schools?

Do you know—
with what malevolent irony our representatives at Geneva, who make splendid speeches on peace, welcome the positive disarmament proposals which have just been made?

Do you know—
that in order to satisfy the great oil interests, England uses the fear and hatred of the Soviet regime to form a coalition against Russia?

Do you know—
that our democracy continues to hold by force colonial possessions and to exploit the people for the benefit of a handful of profiteers?

Do you know—
that in spite of what is said to the contrary, the legal code in the colonies punishes the natives for acts which the French may perform with impunity?

Do you know—
that next year the big concessions in French Equatorial Africa expire; that the system of forced labor worse than slavery imposed on the natives destroys the population, and that these concessions are likely to be renewed if public opinion is not strongly aroused against it?

*If you know this—*

You will call our representatives, who were elected on May 11, 1924, to account for their vote of March 5, 1927, on the Paul Boncour Conscription Bill, which for many of them constituted an absolute disavowal of their principles.

You will vote for the candidates who, with the Women's International League, in the name of Peace and Liberty, clearly declare themselves—

*Against:*
The militarisation of the country.
Military training for children.
Colonial imperialism.

*For:*
Disarmament and the outlawry of war.
A truly pacific international policy.

*(Pax International, May, 1928.)*